

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
 166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to
 797 settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Rev-
 166 erend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
 648 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
 and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this re-
 quest was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed
 20 men and women from Tamplitúsua who had not returned from
 a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among
 the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe
 since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the
 Evangelical Union.

648 When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
 [825] night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
 Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out
 on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said,
 "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to
 a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you
 need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
 [125] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer,"
 as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big
 killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he
 laughed happily.

[535] At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
 [411] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
 during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front
 of the little house beside the village which had been built for him
 and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one
 of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told
 us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest.
 Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they
 had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by
 telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away.
 They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged
 woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to
 sleep."

29] folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 75] protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The •[825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

29] Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

[524] The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called ancheknaknán or [283] chikoangkohsua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

- 302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not [841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting. [513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight



Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

- [625] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (*Ceryle spec.*); (2) ipihaušua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4) [101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar [17] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
 776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topi). It wore a small
 headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I
 reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topi),
 but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not de-
 feated the topi, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow).
 I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three
 days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
 [82] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is
 big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers
 of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of shamans near
 [775] him. I did not talk but returned fast. He added later that if he
 [756] had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the
 other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
 292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitina, and people marveled
 761 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the
 courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also
 to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days.
 At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the
 powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed
 the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the
 air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immedi-
 ately, stricken by a panché-tónwera. Urukú picked up the
ankungitina. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants
 with him."

● 425 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
 [292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
 [238] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (*ibid.*, Note 30) says in
 this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
 [82] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
 [753] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
 me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a
 headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
 292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
 285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. *ibid.*, Fig. 1).
 114 The figures in Wagley's work (*ibid.*, Figs. 1-9) do not provide any
 details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the
 feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampititua

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
 361 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
 [136] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
 [925] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
 136 one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which
 192 would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on
 European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the
 savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also
 come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find
 something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they
 get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco
 leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such
 articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they
 get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked
 and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the
 bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [trans-
 lated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth
 century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué
 with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
 [361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
 [342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
 [476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
 [764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
 [712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
 [345] possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
 the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most
 typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial,
 and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
 [352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they
 give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses
 within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings,
 in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
 171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
 361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

128 I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study
 • [925] the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

MAMMALS

- 136
 262 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.
 (2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Enphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.
 (3) tamama -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.
 (4) tamandua-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.
 (5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.
 (6) tapidif -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent) (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.
 (7) kuanobé -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:96] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

[741] since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted,
[726] they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main
• 825 source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the
262 bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their
252 favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the
[263] fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably
accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when
I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampitiqua, and did
so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish
without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smell-
ing bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour.
A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered
me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed
them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest.

[535] The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish,
and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the
[533] song consists of the word ypiri. It was this generic term for fish
that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a
[754] disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been
harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into
his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say
[776] that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do
not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as al-
ready stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with
[772] manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of
the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies
above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case
"very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

136 Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact
that I never found any on my own body during my stays among vari-
ous tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in con-
tact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive meas-
ures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who
stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young
man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled with-
out biting.

went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had worms in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh: they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonies that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 767

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Canisulus paca*). 775 825 554

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *anikás* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Wari, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awaká awaká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *manjá awaká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 773

(4) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. 822 764

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the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Watanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died.

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[825]

SORCERY

The Tapirape tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirape there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how he thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke much tobacco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Panteri will throw his *ankangitana* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it.

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As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankangitana* to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in curing, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankangitana* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirape down the back tied to the chest "pig tail" headdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41).

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[275]

of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, 756
have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of chil- 82
dren" (20). A shaman strale, or more simply, takes spirits of children 842
from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps.
Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *panité* to "make him
dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify
the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One
father explained that he had taken honey to the *panité* Urukumu, mak-
ing him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of
Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present
of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called
piac (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *panité* who
brought back a child from the hornfly (*Tahonidae*).

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the 756
door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is 842
always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no
children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *panité*". For
example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by
the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due
to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said.
He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his pre-
sent and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband: for
according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with
a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and
Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children. [237]

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman 225
during the period each October and November when they must swim 756
while they fish and shoot turtles: for in this region of Brazil rivers are 481
infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon* *histrix*), and the 825
carnivorous fish called *piranha* (*Serrasalminae*). The Tapirapé also believe
that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap
themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the
year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary

(20) Thunder, night, moonrises, wild pigs, jact (*Pseudoeuphrasia* sp.), jactant (*Pseudoeuphrasia* sp.), fish called *tubamaru* (*Cirrhilabrus* sp.), *panité* (*Megascops* sp.), and *piranha* (*Pseudocorymbus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

225 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim
 461 to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman
 756 dreams. He travels to the river, ties the jaws of the alligators with wires,
 825 strikes the piranha across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up
 the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 The abundance of the food supply may also become the respon-
 825 sibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to
 control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These
 [99] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi-
 rapé River on a hill called by them Towaiyawé — Ringed tail of the
 [103] coatí (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with
 female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run
 fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the panicle". The

[176] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his
 control over the *anciépa* called *amukápa* — "crying spirits". Wild
 pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about.

[221] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them,
 followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait
 to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable
 of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed
 the recent lack of success of hunting expeditions and the apparent
 scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of
 787 prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village
 of the *perupí* *áwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the de-
 monic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman
 may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya,
 where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his
 fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along
 the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces
 that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream.
 When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence,
 one shaman claimed to have prophesied my arrival to the day. He had
 traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen
 my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way
 foretold the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures than occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitana*. This headdress exhilarates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukama, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 776 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukama wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was tutored by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *tupi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *tupi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *tupi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirape; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirape told me that on attack of malaria I had been caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. (821) (825) (752)

716 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
 821 names of people. According to the Tapirapé, the moon is sister to the sun
 773 and is married to Anchopetari, a culture hero who was instrumental in
 776 dividing all birds into two groups,¹¹ and who taught Tapirapé how to
 821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to
 have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with
 black grapipe dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirapé culture heroes. Apuwemotu¹²
 (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anu-
 tetro, a Tapirapé woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirapé. At
 night he was a young man, husband of Anutetro, but by day he appeared
 to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anutetro how to plant cotton
 and how to spin. He taught the Tapirapé¹³ how to plant their modern
 garden products, maize, manioc, corn, yams. Finally Apuwemotu returned
 to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anutetro who is called
 Imauwango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirapé point to these two planets,
 recounting their story and saying, "Apuwemotu is young at night when he
 is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other conclusions are known, but of importance in story are
 821 possibly only that called by the Tapirapé "the jaguar,"¹⁴ and the Pleiades.¹⁵
 747 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar.
 He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar
 of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirapé. "Men
 would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become
 one of his reserve of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles
 with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
 805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
 776 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616]
 [821]
 [825] ¹¹ At the present time one's species are divided into three age groups. Each age group of
 each species carries the name of a bird: one being species of small parrots, and the other
 species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from double divisions
 of the bird world in which Anchopetari lived.

[77] ¹² This is probably identical with Momo (or Maim-momo, according to Milne), chief-
 ling and of Tapirapé, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the
 Tapirapé to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was
 transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Milne, *ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³ One text calls them Karapawawa (pre-Tapirapé) at this time (see p. 214).

[17] ¹⁴ Ancient Girardot told that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions
 ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apuwemotu-Girardot speak of a celestial jaguar;
 and the Choro from Chiriquito explain the eclipse in this same manner. Milne, *ibid.*
 p. 20.

[17] ¹⁵ "Les Pléiades paraissent avoir été chez les Tapirapé l'objet de croyances particulières.
 On trouve notamment la conviction qu'elles faisaient la crèche des maïs." Milne,
Bulletin des Tapirapés, p. 11.

752 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
 796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
 921 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
 776 [781] visiting the house of Thunder.

787 "I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came
 756 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
 921 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
 772 child (a *topé*). It wore a small headband of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
 776 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topé*
 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
 I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed
 a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes
 up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had
 many red parrot feathers. There were many *topé* and many souls of shamans. I did
 not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's cattle he would have stayed
 (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Though shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know,
 too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*axéngas*) which populate the unseen
 world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of
 deceased Tapirapé;¹⁹ and demons or malevolent beings of many classes.
 777 Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen-
 752 erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives.
 When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, parrots and
 doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and jay are spirits
 of men.²⁰ These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see-
 772 [778] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenceless
 laymen.²¹ They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as
 soon as the body is buried.

776 There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demonic
 774 class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
 are represented by men in the mask dance cult.²² Other species are very
 dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, there
 773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and
 776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[771] ¹⁹ Speaking of Tapirapá, Mitrovic makes these same two categories of "supernatural
 beings" (laymen, spirits, *engage* and *axéngas*). *Ibid.*, p. 31.

925 ²⁰ Animals which live, or are, spirits can be grouped together. There are tales of some age
 [749] and are groups, in a complicated dietary system.

²¹ Dogs are not spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *axéngas* but we
 can't."

²² At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but gen-
 erally as present everything in the men's cult is known to women, and they do not seem
 pointed to be frightened.

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A man now points to the southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood. Sometimes shamans (*peacké*) see malevolent beings in their dream travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreys*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirapé laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirapé living, not only because he has dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirapé swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the Tapirapé River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranhas* (carnivorous fish) and sting rays, and according to Tapirapé belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranhas* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirapé go hunting, it is up to the shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.²⁰ Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirapé often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirapé is not finite or entirely known; it is dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a

²⁰ When the Tapirapé have made lists of wild pigs, which are "sons" of Thunder he will be angry and send a sudden rain or cloudburst of the sky. If a Tapirapé sees an unexpected rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

²⁷⁶₇₅₆ by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

⁴²³₂₄₉ The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

²⁷²₍₂₇₃₎ No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

⁷⁷¹ *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, *anunga* (spirit or shadow).

⁷⁷⁵ The *anunga* flowers, human spirits or ghosts (*afa* or *anunga* among the *Tapinowá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

• ^[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls ^[774] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

⁷⁷⁶ In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called *anunga*, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many *anunga*, among whom were the *awakú anká*, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The *mumpáinká* were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the ^[535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (p. 19, ^[532] bottom, right).

⁷⁷⁶ *Rites*.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (*anunga*) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ^[241] ceremonial (*kaó*) and the ceremony of *kawi* (a soup-like beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

²⁴¹₇₅₆ In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirape

upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny condition of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentin and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having few friends in the village, Champukwi